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On the verandah of the gong house old men wait for advance tidbits of a pig that is being butchered for the afternoon's feast. Between them a boy who danced all night snatches a nap.

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A crowd listens to an argument over a dowry payment. Tilapada, whose autobiography is given in this volume, is the first woman at left center. Her head is thrown back as she makes a telling point. Back of her stand her oldest daughter and at her left her youngest daughter. The serious people are partners to the gift. The ones who are laughing are not involved in the exchange.

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867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) [578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [578 155 685] fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is customary [855 578] to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [867] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

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### CHILDREN AND THEIR PROPERTY

Parents have no scruples about appropriating anything a child may have, or about treating it carelessly at the same time that they admit the child's ownership of the property. This is in marked contrast to the rigidly scrupulous attitudes of some other nonliterate peoples such as certain American Indian tribes. Repeatedly I gave children small gifts, ranging from candy to a tin container, only to see these gifts in the hands of an adult a few minutes later, while the child stood by without source of redress. One of the major difficulties in using free-play techniques was that adults could not be kept from joining the children and appropriating the toys. As young people begin producing or acquiring property of greater value in adult eyes, this situation becomes more acute. (See Chapter 6.) A quarrel between two boys over a bow illustrates several aspects of this situation. 421 858

Padalang, a boy of about fourteen, gave his bow to an uncle, who promised to mend it for him. When it was mended, the uncle handed the bow to his son instead of returning it to his nephew. The son in turn loaned it to a playmate, who broke it beyond repair. When the nephew discovered what had happened he went to the house of the boy who had broken the bow and seized his bow in compensation—a thoroughly adult procedure. The two boys came to blows and soon both were bellowing with rage and pain. Adults took a hand in separating them and suggested various compromises, which the enraged boys both stubbornly refused to accept. Adult relatives became sufficiently excited to begin snatching the bow from each other's hands. At this point two neutral observers rushed in, seized the bow, and broke it into pieces. 421 852 [578]

Fantan the Interpreter, who was one of the two neutral observers, commented afterward that they would not have dared to break the bow in this fashion if two adults had been quarreling, but instead everyone would have taken sides and tried to settle matters by compromise. Trivial as this incident is, it illustrates not only the helplessness of children in protecting their own property, but also the peculiar harshness toward growing children that manifests itself repeatedly in teasing, ridiculing, frightening, and beating, as well as in a certain contemptuous highhandedness where their property interests are concerned. [788 621] 855 [858]

As harshness may take the form of confiscating children's property, so solicitude may manifest itself in giving them gifts. A minor gift of meat in the name of boys at feasts has already been mentioned. The loincloth, the symbol of status, is another gift children receive from 855

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bieting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price-dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

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[193] this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.
576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a consid-
erable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving
a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
[197] unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token"
(*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The
next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the
dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.
154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers.
Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between
shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atime-
langers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say
about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous
emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized
police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation,
shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply
the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
[155] as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame pro-
duces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be
diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive
quality.
154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
155 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear
that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing
of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the
world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
556 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are
thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been
offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of dan-
ger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into
wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of express-
ing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains.
The result, at least in the past, was war.

### QUARRELS

578 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association
with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear
observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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nitude. Hardly a feast or ceremonial gathering occurred without at least 578
one acrimonious dispute. My first impression was that these debates might lead to violence at any moment. People shouted at each other and men grasped their bows or swords in the right hand. They took short springing steps backward and forward shouting challenge before meeting the point under debate. The usual preamble was "Hik, hik, my friend So-and-so!"

Further acquaintance with such debates revealed that they practically never developed into physical violence, at least between men. In eighteen months on one occasion only did men come to blows and begin to spar with swords. Even then the gestures were largely formal and seemed deliberately wide of the mark. Finally, by accident, one man received a slight scratch on the forehead. He immediately threw down his sword and rushed to the dance place to litigate. Repeatedly I had the impression that the principals as well as bystanders were terrified lest a quarrel develop into real violence. In every outbreak of any magnitude much of the furor was caused by alarmed neutrals who tried vigorously to placate the opponents and who shouted orders that there was to be no fight. The reasons for the fear will be more apparent when the nature of group responsibility is developed, especially in connection with war.

This does not mean that there never is any real violence, but it does 575
mean that when it occurs it is usually within the small family groups, 577
where repercussions are apt to be limited. The anecdote (page 60) of the man who beat, unmercifully and without interference, his young half brother, is a case in point. In another instance a girl of about fifteen came to have a bad scalp wound dressed. At the time, she told me that she had fallen. Later I discovered that her mother had struck her with a stone because she had gambled away her own dance anklets in the newly introduced card game that was the rage among young people.

Quarrels were so frequent that an attempt to record all of them 575
proved too time-consuming. However, in even the partial record made, 602
every type of kin was involved: parents with children, siblings with cousins of both sexes, grandparents with grandchildren, aunts and uncles with nieces and nephews. An informant in discussing these intrafamilial quarrels added quickly, "But they don't last long. They must forget and eat together." Again food appears as a symbol of reassurance and [644]
social euphoria. Out of forty-seven quarrels of sufficient vigor to produce a public outburst and to come to my notice, thirty-six were between acknowledged kin. This is not a significant number in view of the high degree of interrelationship within the villages. What is signifi-

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571 602 cant, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more remote affinal relatives.

532 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelanger lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

534 535 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dokak*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdema*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gravity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually hastens to apologize.

[537] Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance contest is really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from [533] the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although fortitude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

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prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, Maliseni, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable.

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*moling*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chaffing good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments.

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a drastic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by countersacrifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point.

### WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tasab* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kalukek*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Atimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices.

No wealth contests (*tasab*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats, which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below.

Malesta was a young man who had married Maliseni's sister, Kol-

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556 578 pada. Maleata gave his brother-in-law a broken gong as part of his bride-price but received no dowry in return. Maleata sat on the verandah below his brother-in-law's house dunning for it. He said, "My brother-in-law Maliseni, why don't you give me a dowry?" Maliseni, who was angry at this persistent dunning, said, "Wah! I shan't give you a dowry! That fellow down there is one who can be looked through as far as the Kamang district. He is transparent to the Mating area." [196] This was a very insulting speech, its implication being that Maleata was a poor man of no substance and solidity.

Maleata then went to complain to a powerful elder kinsman called Mangma, who visited Maliseni and in a placating fashion asked him, "Why are you like this?" Maliseni merely elaborated his previous insult [196] by saying, "The one down there on my verandah is like civet-cat meat; he is a floating seed. Perhaps you are going to cry?" This enraged Mangma, who then collected a group of his and Maleata's kinsmen. There were five in all.

They armed themselves and stood on their dance place to shout challenge. "Hik, hik, my friend Maliseni! We shall reckon wealth." They hung their gongs on the racks and beat them with the sharp, rapid strokes which signal anger or catastrophe. They brought all the weapons down from their houses. The five kinsmen began to slay their pigs [603] and the pigs of all their kinsmen, thereby making them automatically their allies in the declared wealth feud. Then they set out for Lakawati, where they also had relatives, and returned carrying three pigs. On the ridge above their village they beat gongs and Maleata shouted toward Maliseni's dance place, "I bought your sister. I gave you a bride-price, and you promised me a dowry. When I came to collect it, you insulted me. (He repeated the insult verbatim.) Then I quarreled with you, but it was you who thrust a spear into your sister's carrying basket. You were richer than I, that is true. But you failed to pay my dowry, and now we shall see who is richer." As they came down the ridge they met a party of Maliseni's allies, who had also been out collecting animals. The two groups fought with bamboo throwing-spears and stones. No one was hurt, but a moko carried by the Lakawati allies of Mangma and Maleata was broken by a stone and had to be repaid by Mangma and Maleata with interest.

This type of challenge and encounter, in the course of collecting animals for slaughter, went on for several days. "A man would eat a [262 whole pig by himself. We were sick of meat. Everyone who was a kins- 602] man of one side or the other had his pigs killed. The more distantly related kin of both groups of contestants tried to stay neutral by con-

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tributing pigs to both sides. Women were hiding piglets in the houses so that all the animals would not be killed."

Then the Male House I* of each chief contestant decided to meet and reckon their tallies. They set up forked tree branches on neutral ground between the two villages. The young men of both sides met there and fought. They pushed and tugged and sparred with clubs. When they finished fighting, the Male House representatives of each side took two tallies apiece and tossed them into the air, saying, "Moon-Sun, we give you these two tallies. If our side is at fault, may our tallies be fewer. If our side is right, hide the tallies of our opponent; make ours flow in like water."

Then each side began laying down tallies. Maliseni's representatives would put down one and Mangma's representatives would lay one on top of it. When Maliseni's tallies were finished, Mangma's side still had many. Then Mangma's side shouted a formal gloat, "Sapaliek! The rooster's tail droops! You are a voiceless night bird. Our lineage house's taproot goes down deep. You were mistaken." Then they all danced challenge, saying, "Hik, hik! my friend Maliseni, sit quietly, don't talk. We are the ones to talk. We are a bird with a bell-like voice; you are a silent night bird."

After this climax of the contest there was an all-night dance. At dawn the winners gave to their six Male House kin for their services a series of graded payments that amounted to about twenty-five dollars in gongs and mokos plus various pigs and a sword. In addition, all the pigs used had to be paid for.

For five years after this event Maliseni and his rivals avoided each other. Finally the winners sent a go-between to Maliseni with offers of a peacemaking feast on the spot where the reckoning had taken place. Here the principals exchanged areca, rice cones, and meat. Each side ate the other's food, and peace was restored. At least the contestants no longer avoided each other.

This particular contest broke out over an affinal exchange. It involved many people who had no particular interest in losing the pigs they were raising for other purposes. It failed also to settle the hostility between Maliseni and some of his opponents. About ten years later the rivalry broke out once more, this time between Maliseni and Malefani, one of Mangma's and Maleata's chief supporters. This time the precipitating factor was that Malefani's three young sons refused to let Maliseni join them in a rat hunt. Maliseni was angry and shouted at the boys, "I'll hit you if you don't wish me to go with you. Go copulate with a

*See page 21.

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556 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest
578 broke out. Maliseni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Maliseni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had
602 been poisoned by Maliseni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Maliseni from giving burial services as the
[764] representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Maliseni. There was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Maliseni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

556 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the
602 light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth
154 contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kalukek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has
[177] been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still
[154] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

695 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvi-
681 ous intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his
627 innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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686 orings. The case of hard dealing in connection with a debt mentioned
627 on page 67, which led to the theft of a child and from there to the taking of a head, is an illustration of such a situation. Refusal to meet obligations may also lead to threats of burning the debtor's house. In about 1927 Padata the Leper set fire to Maliseni's house because Maliseni refused to pay him a moko worth seventeen dollars and fifty cents. The whole village burned to the ground, and in addition to the destruction of property through fire there was wholesale pilfering of chickens, corn, rice, and piglets in the course of the confusion. Perhaps one of the
[674] best indexes of human and property relationships in Atimelang is that such disasters as a fire are occasions for pilfering by the very people who come to assist. In still another case financial hard dealing and insult between brothers precipitated a murder. It is referred to in passing in both Tilapada's and Kolmani's autobiographies. For the light it throws on a number of facets of Atimelang temperament it is worth giving here in detail.

578 Langmai owed a debt to Fanpeni, his young unmarried cousin, and
627 Fanpeni came one evening to dun him. Langmai did not invite him
686 to enter the house and eat. He added insult to injury by referring to Fanpeni's unmarried status and by dilating on the pleasures he himself had in sleeping with his own wife. Fanpeni sulked all night on the verandah below the house. The next morning Langmai and his wife left the house without paying any attention to Fanpeni, who was by then in a murderous mood. The wife's younger sister stayed behind to care for the children. In the course of the morning she went off to fetch water. Fanpeni waylaid her and cut her throat. He then ran off to a village so distant that it was not considered practicable to follow him.

Berkama, an uncle of Fanpeni, feared retribution and left for a near-by village. The dead girl's kin sent word that if he stayed away they would consider it a sign that he approved of his nephew's act. Berkama feared this was a ruse to lure him back to Atimelang in order to murder him, but finally when his wife's powerful cousin offered to take him and his family under personal protection, he consented to return. The matter blew over for the time being.

684 Meanwhile the daughter of Berkama's sister married a man from
578 Manetati whose brother too was married to an Atimelang woman. This
627 other Atimelang woman ran away from her husband, lived with another man in the vicinity, and finally returned to her own village.

One day Berkama's sister, mother of the first girl married in Manetati, went to visit her daughter, accompanied by her nephew, the twelve-year-old son of Berkama. The deserted husband shot the child simply

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The deserted husband shot the child simply [672]
because he was from the same village as his adulterous wife and because 684
there was a death for which no payment had been made by the child's 578
family. The boy was carried back to his own village, where he died three 627
or four days later.

The brother of the murderer, who was the child's uncle by marriage, 682
was furious at this attack and killed a woman of his own family. He 578
then took her head to his wife's village of Atimelang, where it was ac- 627
cepted as payment for the dead child and for the girl murdered some years earlier by Fanpeni. Incidentally, the murder of a lineal kin to appease affinal kin is not necessarily traditional courtesy. I suspect, although I could not confirm it, that this last woman was in some way a troublesome person. In a discussion of insanity that occurs on page 157 there is a case in which a maniac was told by kin that they would take his head and sell it.

This anecdote points to another reason why violence is the source of 182
so much fear. In an area where kinship is reckoned bilaterally, so that rec- 152
ognized family affiliations are widespread, and where, in addition, group responsibility exists not only in terms of kinship but also in terms of territorial affiliation, a violent act by some one person may have incalculable repercussions on anyone distantly affiliated with the person committing the act. It is small wonder that Rilpada's autobiography contains the statement, "The older people all lectured us about fighting and said that when we fought we involved them and it was just as though we were waging war on them."

Warfare, when it was in vogue, was rarely on a large scale or of a 721
very bloody nature. It was characterized more by treachery than by 726
boldness. Bravery was reckoned in terms of success rather than risk. There is no need at this point to give a detailed description of warfare in Alor, but a brief résumé of the last series of head-hunting raids before Dutch pacification will throw some light on the role it played in the lives of Atimelangers. The series of retaliations listed below covered a period of about thirty years.

1. Manisenlaka of Kewai killed Motlaka of Lawatika. No one seemed to remember the reasons for this original murder.

2. Lonmani, a young girl of Lawatika, was kidnapped by Padakafeli of Atimelang and sold to a man in Kewai, where she was killed in revenge for death no. 1. Padakafeli was motivated by the profit involved in selling a head.

3. Lanpada of Kafakberka was killed by Kafolama of Dikimpe at the instigation of Padamai of Lawatika. Padamai was the father of victim no. 2. Kafolama was Padamai's friend and was paid for getting Lan-

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berka, and Kafakberka had five dead, one of whom was a woman. Of the casualties only three occurred in open fight, the others were through ambush and treachery. It should be stressed, however, that the use of the word *treachery* in English gives the act a derogatory quality that the Alorese do not recognize.

The termination of this last war came with the death of the File woman. Dikimpe people took the initiative in paying for her murder. Since the score was five to five at this point settlement could be arranged honorably by go-betweens, and thirty dollars in mokos and gongs kept the File people from joining the war. At about this time also the Dutch were insisting upon the termination of head-hunting. However, some twenty years later the Kewai and Atimelang people were still suspicious of each other and there were very few contacts between the villages, although they were only about an hour-and-a-half's walking distance apart.

The fact that bereaved kin are not necessarily the ones who take direct vengeance does not mean that they are absolved from responsibility but, characteristically, that responsibility is financial. They must buy a head to match the one lost by a relative. Actually a head itself is not always necessary. Tokens for a person killed or wounded but not decapitated are acceptable. In such transactions there are six sellers and six buyers. The sellers (*namu*) are the persons who were present at the death and who counted coup on the head. The buyers (*banumuma*) consist of specific kin, such as a brother, and the first five Male Houses of the deceased. The prices for heads naturally vary. The maximum expenditure I have recorded amounts to approximately one hundred and twelve dollars in gongs, mokos, weapons, and pigs.

The ceremonial accompaniments of such transactions are slight and slovenly in execution, as are all ceremonial procedures in Atimelang. The sellers of a head bring it to their village in a basket filled with ashes. The basket is hung in a bamboo thicket and ignored until the payoff, which may be years later. The first two killers are under a rice taboo for six days. They may eat only corn served them in the inner woven compartment of an areca basket that is kept covered with a serving basket. The eaters take a handful and rapidly cover the container again. This is to prevent the ghost of the dead man from contaminating the food and making his slayers particularly susceptible to revenge. On the sixth day the buyers make a rice roll with a head and limbs. The chief seller shoots this food effigy and may thereafter eat rice. The sellers then give the chief buyer bananas, pigs, and chickens, which are cooked and eaten on the spot by the five other buyers. That

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SATELLITES

536 578 182 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

556 571 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

461 556 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor [462] makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the young. 554 602 571 Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assistance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

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ored are supposed to precede the human creditors and "soften people's hearts." For the next few days the tumukun's kinsmen and debtors continued making payments and by August 4 the feast was finally given, four months after the original date set for it.

Even then not an adequate number of debtors appeared, so that on August 4 there was only the slaughtering of pigs and the division of food. On August 7 the actual gongs and mokos were distributed. The wealth array was one of the most elaborate I saw during my eighteen months, but I was assured that it was by no means the largest possible. There were fifteen mokos and eight broken gongs, representing about one hundred dollars, displayed on the dance place. This did not include pigs or rice. Practically the whole day was taken up with the distribution, although the actual passing out of payments did not begin until about four-thirty. At five-forty the first creditor, a satellite kin and village-mate of the tumukun, beat the moko he had received and left the dance place as a sign of satisfaction with the payment made. Some of the other creditors, however, were overtly and articulately dissatisfied with their payments, and some of the more implacable ones refused to accept them and leave until noon the next day. Meanwhile, in several instances, they had succeeded in forcing higher payments. Several times the tumukun and his guests were in acute rages over the negotiations. The tumukun finally managed to convince his guests that he had absolutely no currency of any sort left. Actually he had taken the precaution of hiding two mokos in a field house occupied by a kin so that his creditors would not discover them and insist on having them.

In attempting to visualize the general atmosphere of grasping hard dealing that runs riot on such occasions, one must picture a whole group of people who are present simply because they are creditors of the tumukun's creditors. They watch what is being distributed, and the minute one of their creditors is paid a gong or moko, they lay claim to it as payment for an outstanding debt. The result is that, in addition to the quarrels centering on the tumukun's debt liquidations, there is also a series of minor quarrels being waged on the side.

A condensed account of this sort can scarcely begin to indicate the anger, humiliations, and frustrations the tumukun had to endure for the prestige the feast brought him. It is not surprising that many men delay payoff feasts indefinitely and must often be forced into them. The most common pressure that forces a reluctant financier into a ceremonial payoff is illness, his own or that of some family member. Divination reveals that a dead kinsman is angry at delay or neglect and that

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755 his soul is causing the sickness. A small promissory sacrifice to the an-
426 gered ghost removes the immediate symptoms. Then the long-drawn
765 preliminaries leading to a feast are set in motion.

621 A less frequent form of coercing a man into ceremonial expenses is
426 beginning an undertaking in which he is then forced to join. In connec-
765 tion with the death feast given by the tumukun there was an example of such an involvement. The tumukun was giving a feast for his father-in-law. This brought in, although very reluctantly, the maternal uncle of the tumukun's wife and her sister. This uncle was held equally responsible by his female kin for the ceremony in view of the fact that there were no nearer male kin of the deceased.

Another case of forced participation happened in connection with the erection of a new carving of the village guardian spirit for Dikimpe. The person primarily responsible for taking the initiative and bearing the brunt of the expenses was Fantan the Interpreter, who had inherited this duty from his father. In Dikimpe the village guardian spirit carving had not been renewed for several years, nor had the spirit been fed. Thomas, who belonged to one of the Dikimpe lineages and was responsible only to a minor degree for the expenses, ordered a carving made and then left the major part of the activities for Fantan to carry through. It was interesting in this instance that Fantan seemed to bear no resentment.

A still rarer form of forcing a man into feast activities is through public shaming. A quarrel that resulted in a feast five months later is worth giving in detail.

578 Maugata, a young man of about eighteen, had done a few days'
593 work on the coast and earned some money which he invested in a crude kerosene flare and a bottle of oil. There were only about half a dozen such lamps in the village, and their owners were very proud of them. On Maugata's return from the coast his father, who was ill, insisted on burning the lamp all night. The next night Djetmani, a neighbor, borrowed the lamp from Maugata's father so that he might have more than just firelight by which to tie into bundles his newly harvested corn. On the third night, Maugata wanted to carry his lamp to an all-night dance, doubtless with the hope of splurging a bit. He found the bottle empty of oil and the lamp dry. He was furious and berated his father until his father, who was both ineffectual and ill, burst into tears. Maugata's mother, who is Tilapada of the autobiographies, turned on her son and scolded him harshly for his behavior.

578 Maugata left the house in a rage and found Djetmani outside. The two began quarreling. Djetmani threatened to break the lamp. Maugata

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retorted that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata, who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel. The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters. When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication, was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had been at fault—not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now."

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined, and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry, was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

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no new situations are encountered. What we will see henceforth is merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the social goal of status.

It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that can supply us with some information about the source from which the quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to, or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the individual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of unworthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male strongly repressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men who steal and ask for presents; the women do not. Women return gifts; men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings; the mother much less so. The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not. The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be exaggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of unworthiness.

The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the form of an actual accumulation of gongs and mokos. Emphasis falls rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by intense feelings of greed and envy. The general stinginess about food is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training in childhood.

The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that attends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

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has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy. It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feeling. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the necessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so distributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enormous amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard aggression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place. It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one directed by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive toward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their aggression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of getting any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unrestrained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

## RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elaboration of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

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many brothers and sisters." Mornings I would eat with Langmani and evenings I ate with Padakalieta and slept there. The houses were side by side. I stayed a year. I planted rice and tibah myself and they ate them. Then I began remembering my father and mother and returned to Karieta. [Question.] My brother Malelaka had been there with my parents all the time. I stayed to cut weeds, and after the planting, when the young weeds came, I pulled them out. Then my grandfather Mangma in Dikimpe called me to help weed, and I went back there again. This was the time that Alurkowati, Dikimpe, and Karieta were at war with Kewai and Lakawati. Ruataug, where my mother and father were staying, was nearer the enemy, and my grandfather called me down so I would be farther away from them.

[Question.] Malelaka, my older brother, was about four years older than I. After I was born my father didn't wait long to sleep with mother again. My father slept with my mother when I first began to laugh. My mother was angry with my father. She took my feces and threw them at my father, saying, "You sleep with me again when I have a child who has only just laughed." [Question.] My mother told me about this afterward. [Does he remember birth of next sibling, Lanmau?] No. [What is his first memory of him?] When I first remember seeing Lanmau, he laughed at me. My mother told me to get leaves to clean up his feces. Maybe he was six months old then. I was at home at that time, when my brother was born, but I don't remember anything before I was sent to get leaves for his feces. I could already walk a little. The leaves were near the house. They were not far.

*December 6, 1938*

I was young and went to a dance. I was versifying and so was Senmani of Alurkowati. We were singing simultaneously. I finished first and wanted to start the chorus, but people didn't want to. They waited for Senmani to finish his verse. I was angry and wanted to fight Senmani. Six men drew their swords and came to Senmani's help. There were seven against me. I was wounded. [He showed a small scar on his little finger.] I wanted to shoot Senmani. Then Fanlaka of Karieta versified. He said, "Kewai-Lakawati, Hatoberka-Rualkameng, Kafakberka-Fefui, Fevi-Fungatau are all brother villages. So are Dikimpe and Karieta, Alurkowati and Karieta." [Fanlaka was trying to remind Mangma that his enemy Senmani belonged to a brother village, and that he shouldn't attack him.] Then Senmani versified, "If faces were strange, if eyes were strange, I should not have come. But this is a Maughieta [lineage name] and Mothieta [lineage name] dance. The old men of Senhieta

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one from Karieta or Alurkowati. Maybe I know your grandmother, but I don't know you. You are probably a Karieta boy, so I'll cut your throat." Then I cried and ran. He followed me. I looked back and saw he was still following me. I got as far as Hamintuku when I fell down and urinated in my loincloth. I looked at Fanmale. One of his eyes was blind. He came near me and said, "Oh, I was just joking with you." Then he picked me up and we went on toward Atimelang together. On the way Makalaka joined us. There in Atimelang I ran to my grandfather's house, went up the ladder, and pulled it up after me. Thereafter whenever I saw Fanmale on the trail, I used to hide until he had gone past me. [At this point he was blocked, which was unusual in the informant.]

[I asked about his father.] Before my father was married, he gave a moko to the tumukun of Bakudatang. Then when I was about twelve, father and I and three other men went there to take the tumukun another big moko. When we got there the people were not roasting animals or making a feast. They just cooked some rice and old meat they had in the house and asked us to come up to eat. Father looked at his dish of rice and saw there was a hair in it [a sign of poison]. He was angry. He broke the pots and tore up the serving dishes. He went outside and seized his weapons. He stood on the dance place, shouting, "I've brought a big dowry to you and now you try to poison me, but I shan't return empty-handed." They brought out a pig. I was afraid and took father's hand. Father said he wanted a moko. So they gave him a Piki moko as a fine for their fault. They also brought out a pig to roast and told the women to cook other rice so that we could eat before we left. They served us on the verandah this time. When we finished eating, they added a pig to our moko and we brought them both back. [Did they really want to poison his father?] No. The women had used a bamboo tube that had some hair stuffed in it. Some had fallen into the rice.

When we went back home, Atakalieta of Folafeng and Letfani were giving a death feast [*Ato*]. Father took a Djawa moko to Atakalieta and a Maningmauk moko to Letfani, and a large pig to roast and a Piki moko as a free gift [*punghe*]. We roasted the pig we had brought, and father gave me part of the leg and a lot of other pieces to broil over the fire. As I was broiling the meat I called my friends to come and join me. I took a sliver of bamboo to cut the meat. I cut my finger with it, so that it bled; blood fell on the meat. Father picked me up and set me on a verandah. When the feast was over, Atakalieta gave

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If it curls around my mouth, I shall die." He blew out the smoke and it sailed out straight ahead. He said, "Now I shall live." But the seer sent his familiar spirit, and it took father's soul far off, and my father died. As I was holding my father in my arms I put my hand under his mouth, and a tooth dropped out into my hand. That was a sign that there would be another death soon, and in a short time mother died.

[How long was it before your mother died?] Mother died a year and a half after my father; it was two years ago. [How?] Padata the Leper and his wife separated. The wife married a kinsman of ours in Makangfokung. The Makangfokung people would not eat the food that the people of Karieta [Padata's village] cooked and vice versa. The Karieta people made magic against Makangfokung with their namoling stone. Makangfokung made magic against Karieta with their maheng spirit. Padata gave a feast and paid my mother for a shroud with a moko and rice. My mother carried them right through to the Makangfokung people, to our relatives. In Makangfokung the maheng spirit must have hit my mother, because she came home and was sick. She defecated blood. Mother was sick for two and a half months. [Which hurt most, your father's or your mother's death?] When mother died I cried for ten days. But I cried for ten days too when my father died. Whenever I went any place alone I would think and then cry a lot. I feel my mother and father were good because they gave birth to me. If they hadn't I wouldn't be here now. I am still here, so I feel I have a debt to pay. They fed me and gave me drink when I was small. I must pay that debt to them. I am raising three pigs now, and the next good year [1940] I shall give a death feast for both of them. That is the debt I must pay. I think and think of my father and mother. They slept together. Father used up all his semen. Mother was pregnant and had trouble because of me; people had to watch over her until I was born. I was small but she fed me. When I slept she made me comfortable; she had to clean up my feces. My mother and father went to work and had to come back to fondle me when I cried. Mother had to come back from the fields, from fetching water and firewood. Father would start someplace and I would cry, and he would have to come back to fondle me. When I was hungry they cut bananas for me. My maternal grandparents came bringing things and had to be fed. When I was still bloody [i.e., newly born] my mother had to sit in the house from four to six days with me. My mother had trouble because of me. Death feasts are to pay for all this care. [Pause. I felt throughout this speech that Fantan was saying something rehearsed, or was expressing just a standard

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X 159 it. There were three baskets, one for me, one for Maliemai, and one for Lonmobi. I pounded mine and Maliemai's and was going to start Lonmobi's when Djetmani went up into the house and said [so that she heard it], "Tell her to go home. I don't want her here." So I went to Tilaleti's house, took all I had there—my pots, baskets, sleeping mat, and rice—and went to Kawaimani's to stay.

At that time Kawaimani's husband got a pig, and she told me to take it to the chief of Dikimpe, who was giving a Baleti feast for his wife's kin. [This occurred quite recently.] So I took it to Kolmau [the wife X 159 of the chief of Dikimpe]. When I came home in the evening, Cornelius 426 [her paternal parallel cousin] had come and taken the shirt he had left ● 578 with me in pawn for seven cents I had given him. At bedtime I picked up the basket in which I kept the shirt and felt that it was light. I looked in and it was empty. So I was angry with Kawaimani. She had said nothing to me about it. I said, "Perhaps you gave him the shirt? Did he give you the money for it?" She said, "I thought he had paid you the money and that was why he came for the shirt." I said he X 159 hadn't paid me. I said, "Perhaps you gave it to him? Why didn't you 578 ask him for the money?" Kawaimani said, "Perhaps he gave you the money and you don't want to admit it?" Then I swore an oath, "If I have received the money, let us take an oath. If I got the money, may my stomach stone grow big and the string long. [This seemed to indicate a swollen abdomen.] If not, may this happen to you." At this time Tilamau [next-door neighbor and a distant kinswoman whom Lomani called mother] called and said, "You had better come stay with me. You two are sisters and must not fight all the time. Come make your pigpen under my house." So I went to stay with Tilamau.

X 159 [She reverted to the earlier situation.] When I was leaving Tilaleti's house, I passed by Kolangkalieta's house and saw the chief of Atimelang sitting on the verandah. I told him what had happened and what Djetmani had said. So the chief ordered Djetmani to come to him, but Djetmani said he didn't want to. He said I could go home. He said he wouldn't count the free gifts [*punghe*] he had given for me, and if I wanted to marry anyone else, it was all right with him [i.e., he was renouncing all financial interests, which were not very large]. Then in three days Falepangmau's husband, Alurkofani of Kafakberka, litigated to divorce his wife [accusing her of unfaithfulness]. The chief and the tumukun asked her with whom she had an agreement, and she named Djetmani. So Djetmani was called and he paid a Rula Fehawa moko to Alurkofani. After that he was married to Falepangmau. When I heard

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The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicious distrust. It has at its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very latest during the first decade of life.

While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own resources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and another at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the fluid play groups of free roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usually spurned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such objections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But an additional factor in adult objections to children using garden crops too freely is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma, in his autobiography, gives several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.

> Manimale said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes. But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more." I splashed water on him. Manimale said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. The whole system of feeding reinforces one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hunger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another